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ART. VII.—*Bactrian Coins.*

[5th July, 1862.]

THE subjoined paper was commenced, with a view to its insertion in this Journal, more than two years ago; circumstances, over which I have had no control, have delayed and still obstruct its completion; nor would it now appear, in its imperfect and unfinished state, were it not that the illustrative plates, prepared for the occasion, await an accompanying notice.

The original design of the article was, to undertake a more careful examination of the extensive series of Bactrian Coins described in my edition of "Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities,"<sup>1</sup> which I had, at the moment of publication, neither time nor space to do more than classify in an outline catalogue, and further, to incorporate in the general list whatever novelties might be found in the choice collections of Major Hay and Colonel J. Abbott, which had only lately been brought to this country.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Murray, London, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Major Hay's extensive collection, formed during many years' residence in the Hill states of the Punjab, is still in that gentleman's possession. A few of the rare specimens have been secured for our National Museum.

The carefully selected cabinet of Col. J. Abbott, obtained almost *in situ* during his official superintendence of the Hazárah country, has been temporarily deposited for reference in the British Museum, in the laudable desire of making its contents available for the study of those interested in this branch of Numismatic Science. Among other interesting novelties, Col. Abbott's collection contributes a coin of a new King, named ERANDEU.

It is a square copper piece, with an obverse device of a figure of Victory, with chaplet and palm branch, to the right, and the legend —

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ  
ΕΡΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Reverse—Bull to the right; legend imperfect.

*Maharajasa Jayadharasa*  
(*e*)*palva(sa)*.

I must not omit to take this opportunity of expressing my obligation to Mr. J. Gibbs, of the Bombay Civil Service, who, amid a very limited number of specimens, has succeeded in securing two of the most important gems of the

As it will be seen hereafter, that certain of these published acquisitions had already necessitated a revision and partial reconstruction of the previously-received arrangement of the order of the Bactrian Kings, it was clearly desirable that the limited evidence furnished by the classical authors who treat directly on this section of history, should be reproduced anew, in as simple and intelligible a form, and in as much of a continuous narrative as the materials admitted of—not only as properly introductory to the special enquiry, but as furnishing an appropriate groundwork for any modifications the recent medallie testimony might appear to demand—and, to complete the summary of recorded data, it was proposed to append any obviously-needed annotations, as well as any incidental information that might chance to be gleaned from other authors who only indirectly adverted to the special subject under reference, seeing that the fragmentary Bactrian proper history required to be checked by dates and events primarily pertaining to contemporaneous dynasties, whose annals claimed a higher interest among Western writers, and thus secured a more ample and abiding chronicle.<sup>1</sup>

In any such review as the present, however, the early historical or latest numismatic evidence would be incomplete without a reference to the labours of modern scholars, whether of the class who have drawn their knowledge solely from the exact study of the classic authors, or those who, more practically, have based their investigations on the progressively-increasing store of ancient coins, applied with a greater or lesser degree of acumen to the critical history prepared for them by the former. With this object an abstract series of tables giving the results arrived at by successive enquirers, has been inserted immediately after the translations of the Greek and Latin texts.

Bactrian series, the one being, not only unique, but of the utmost value in the new phase it puts upon the collation of the earlier monarchs, the second which is of but little less interest, being a well executed variant of the original and previously unique coin of M. de Bartholomasi.

<sup>1</sup> This purpose has been so far modified by the subsequent departure from the original plan of the article, that I now reserve the discussion of the subordinate collateral passages bearing on the three prominent texts quoted in detail, for their possibly more appropriate place in direct connection with the reigns of the different monarchs, as they may severally come under notice in the eventual, though problematical, continuation of the article as it now stands. Equally, the general geographical inquiry will be set aside for examination at the conclusion of the paper, though incidentally the subordinate details may require to be adverted to as occasion arises.

As a prelude to the written history of the period, it is necessary to advert, in the first instance, to a nearly contemporaneous monumental record of the Indian Sovereign Asoka, engraven on the Kapurdigiri Rock, in the Pesháwur valley, a site not far removed from Bactrian boundaries, and destined soon to pass into the hands of the successors of Diodotus.

The historical value of the inscription in question, which, on its first discovery, was expected to throw new and important light upon the then state of political intercourse between the east and the west—is, I regret to say, but limited. Asoka, indeed, in his Buddhist proclamation preserves in detail the names of Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander, implying by the context, which, however, is obscure in the hitherto published transcripts, that these potentates, in some way, consented to aid or abstain from discouraging the tenets of the creed advocated by the Indian monarch. A large amount of speculation has been indulged in, with a view satisfactorily to fix a given epoch during the proved co-existence of the five western kings, apropos to their mention in the text, and thereby to determine the date of the inscription itself. But, as this monumental writing, like its counterparts, in the Indian Pálí character, at Dhaurí and Girnár, is dated in the years of the Buddhist Sovereign's reign, and the identity of *Prigatarsi*,—the epithet used in these edicts,—with Asoka is generally admitted, the simplest method of determining the period of their composition, is to apply their internal evidence to the now almost uncontested era of Asoka's accession. That monarch is held to have succeeded his father Bindusára in 263 B.C., and to have been formally inaugurated in 259 B.C. This would bring the date of the viii.<sup>th</sup> tablet to 249—8 B.C.;<sup>1</sup> and tablets iii. and iv. to 247—6 B.C.<sup>2</sup> That the writing was inscribed on the rocks at a period even subsequent to these dates, there is every reason to believe,<sup>3</sup> which circumstance at once does away with any importance the inscriptions might otherwise possess as *bonâ-fide* synchronous records.

Amongst other unexplained difficulties inherent in the texts of these edicts, is one, which I am not aware of having been the subject of previous remark, viz.: that the name of Antiochus should appear alone in the ii.<sup>d</sup> tablet, while it is placed in association

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S. xii, p. 202, "having been ten years inaugurated."

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 173, "Tablet iii, "twelve years inaugurated;" p. 181, Tablet iv, "in the 12th year of his inauguration."

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S. xii, p. 249.

with those of the other four kings in the later tablet. I do not think I am hazarding too much in suggesting that the portion which contains the reference to the five Princes, is an addition made subsequent to the composition and incision of the body of the writing. The inscriptions themselves go far to establish this fact. The Dhauli epigraph is the only one of the triple versions we are able to refer to, that may be termed a clean and unbroken copy, following, section by section, in parallel columns, and containing eleven tablets in all. The Girnár lapidary writing is in accord with its eastern counterpart, up to the end of the x.<sup>th</sup> tablet, when three extra edicts are interpolated, and the xi.<sup>th</sup> tablet of Dhauli becomes the xiv.<sup>th</sup> of Girnár. It would seem to be something more than a coincidence that these same three extra tablets do not form a portion of the continuous inscription on the northern face of the Kapurdigiri rock, but are graven on a separate surface at the back of the stone; and it is in the second of these supernumerary edicts, in either case, that the five Kings' names occur. The subsequent addition of these three tablets being conceded, I should account for the anomaly by supposing that when the front face of the Kapurdigiri and the entire text of the Dhauli inscription were prepared, Asoka's emissaries had only secured the adhesion of Antiochus Theos himself—the accession of the good will of the other four Kings was probably obtained later and embodied in the supplementary passages. This is a point of no very great moment, but it militates, equally with the inference previously drawn against the immediate, or strictly contemporaneous, execution of the writing itself.

Of the various theories that have been propounded to explain the association of these individual five monarchs, and to satisfy the requirements of probability as to their due identification, the most rational appears to be that put forward by Mr. James Fergusson. Leaving the architectural question to rest on his high authority, I may fully concur in accepting the historical combination so appositely prepared for us in the single chapter of Justin.

"The most interesting record is that contained in the xiii.<sup>th</sup> edict of the rock-cut inscriptions, where he [Asoka] mentions having formed treaties or alliances with Ptolemy, Antiochus, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander; not treaties of war or peace, but for the protection or aid of his co-religionists in the dominions of those Kings. Owing to the imperfections of the stone and of the record it is not easy to make out what is exactly intended; but this much is certain, that about the year 256 B.C., Asoka did make arrange-

ments for religious purposes with Ptolemy Philadelphus, Antiochus Theos, Antigonus Gonatas, with Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander, who could only be the King of Epirus and Macedonia, mentioned by Justin, in the same passage in which he relates the death of Magas."<sup>1</sup>

"The existence of rock-cut Viharas or Monasteries at Petra, in the dominions of Antiochus, and of similar excavations at Cyrene, goes far to confirm and elucidate this; for though travellers have hitherto called every excavation a tomb, there can be no doubt that many of those at Petra and Cyrene and elsewhere, were the abodes of living ascetics, and not burial places at all."<sup>2</sup>

As Magas died in 258 B.C., even the body of Asoka's inscriptions must have been prepared 12 years after that event, or about 246 B.C. while the additional section, in which the five Kings' names are given, must have been inscribed after a still more extended interval. Either Asoka's emissaries tarried unduly by the way, or the whole passage must be received as a mere record of a past but yet uncanceled treaty, retaining possibly a certain importance among Buddhist votaries on the frontier, and hence thought worthy of publication in the Northern and Western States of the Indian monarch, but of insufficient moment to be either proclaimed in the South, or of enduring interest enough to be reproduced amid the subsequent pillar edicts of the 27th year of his reign.<sup>3</sup> The absence of any notice of the Bactrian Kings may readily be accounted for, on the ground that Antiochus II. was still, as far as foreign nations were concerned, the reputed suzerain of the countries they had possessed themselves of.

However, I am unwilling to enlarge on any deductions from the comparatively imperfect materials furnished by the published copies of these inscriptions, as I am aware that no less than two new counterpart versions have lately been discovered, which may seriously modify or largely improve the results obtained from Professor Wilson's elaborate analysis.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justin, "*Historiæ*" xxvi, c. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Quarterly Review*, 1860, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. As. Soc.*, Bengal, April, 1838.

<sup>4</sup> While adverting to the subject of Ancient Indian Inscriptions, I am anxious to take the opportunity of noticing a series of translations, submitted to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by Dr. Bhānū Dāji, an abstract report of which has been received as these sheets are passing through the press. As the paper in question refers to much that has already been the subject of comment in this Journal, and contributes a large amount of new information on a

The first of these is referred to in a communication from the Government of Madras to the Secretary of State for India, dated April, 1860, forwarding photographs of "an inscription on a

succession of Indian inscriptions, I have thought it advisable to reprint the notice nearly entire, reserving for a future occasion any of the numerous remarks its text suggests. As I am ordinarily better inclined to respect the philological aptitude of our Eastern fellow-labourers to decipher and translate indigenous inscriptions couched in a tongue so largely infused into the vernaculars of India, than to accept the speculative combinations or suggestive identifications of the Native mind.

AUGUST 14, 1862.—Dr. Bhāu Dēśī then read his translations, 1st of the "Sah" inscription on the Girnar rock in Surāshtra, 2nd of the inscription on the northern face of the Girnar rock, and concluded with the following remarks on the Sah, Gupta, and Valabhi dynasties. "The Sah inscription, the revised fac-simile and translation of which have this day been submitted to the Society, was deciphered and published by Prinsep in the vii.<sup>th</sup> volume of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 334. Mr. E. Thomas has republished the same in his admirable edition of Prinsep, and has added a revised translation of the record by Professor H. H. Wilson, based on an independent transcript of the original, which Mr. Thomas had prepared with much care from the improved fac-simile of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, 1842.

"Professor Wilson's translation is anything but an improvement. \* \*

"The translation of the Sah inscription differs in many important particulars from that of Mr. Prinsep; the name of the lake Sudara'sana occurs at the very commencement, but is not recognized by him. Mr. Prinsep's Aridāma is only a mislection of Rudra Dāma, from the imperfect fac-simile.

"An historical fact of great importance in my translation is, that Rudra Dāma appears to have been a grandson of Swāmi Chashtan, and not his son. The inscription contained his father's name, but that part of it is unfortunately completely lost. The names of the countries as I read them, over which Rudra Dāma ruled, are also somewhat different. The names A'kara and Avantī occur in Padumāvi's inscription in one of the Nasik caves. The others need not detain us here.

"The name of the actual builder of the bridge is not the Pahlava Mavya or contractor as rendered by Mr. Prinsep, but the Pahlava Minister of Rudra Dāma, named Suvishakha, a Sanscrit adaptation, I think, of the Persian name Siavaksha. His father's name, as I make it out, is Kulaipa, and Siavaksha appears to have been the Governor of A'narta and Surāshtra.

"This inscription offers materials for many observations, but I must reluctantly postpone most of them to another opportunity.

"In the second inscription we have the names of Skandagupta and of Parnadatta, and his son Chakrapālita.

"Skandagupta is undoubtedly the monarch whose name has been discovered on coins, on the Bhitāri lat, and on the Kubaon pillar. To-day I have fulfilled the promise I made in my paper on Kalidāsa of furnishing a translation of the remaining Junagur inscription. Mr. Thomas has remarked that 'up to this time no more satisfactory account of its purpose and contents can be given than is to be found in the brief notice published by Prinsep in April, 1838 (Prinsep's Indian

rock, near the village of Naugám, in the Pubbákonda Táluk, about 3 miles from Pursatpúr near the Rushkulia river in Gaujam." "The rock [is described as] standing in a quadrangular space enclosed by high embankments, indicating ancient fortifications. The place is called Jonghar or Lac Fort."

The authorities in India do not seem to have been aware of the purport of this inscription, but Mr. Norris has compared some portions of it with the Gírnár and other texts, and finds, he believes, that it is so far a counterpart transcript of Asoka's edicts.

The second new inscription has been brought to notice by Colonel A. Cunningham, who describes the site and condition of the

Antiquities by Thomas, vol. 1, page 247). All that Mr. Prinsep found was 'an allusion to Skandagupta, one of the Gupta family, &c.' It appears that Purnadatta was appointed Governor of Suráshtra, by Skandagupta, and the son of Purnadatta, named Chakrapálita, with two sons were in office, in the same province. The Sudarsana lake appears to have given way in the 13th year of the Gupta Kála, or Gupta era; it was repaired seven years after, in the 137th year of the Gupta Kála by Chakrapálita, who also erected a temple to Vishnu on the top of the Jayanta hill, or the hill of Gírnár, in the 138th year of the Gupta era.

"In my essay on Kalidása I remarked that the Kuhaon pillar inscription is dated 'in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, in the reign of Skandagupta, and not after his decease as deciphered by Prinsep.' The present inscription leaves no doubt of the correctness of my interpretation, and will enable us to fix the chronology of the Gupta and Valabhi monarchs with some certainty.

"The position of Skandagupta in relation to the Gupta era being now placed beyond doubt, the other dates of Chandragupta, Samudragupta, and Budhagupta, as made out from inscriptions, must now be granted to commence from the Gupta era.

"The dates obtained are Chandragupta Vikramáditya 82 (Udayagiri inscription) and 93 (Sanchi inscription) Skandagupta 141 (in the Kuhaon pillar inscription). Budhagupta 161, in the Eran pillar inscription.

"At the next meeting I shall produce proofs to show that the Valabhi plates are dated in the Saka Nripa Kála, and that the symbol which has been hitherto read 300 is really 400.

"Granting these premises, as the Valabhi era is found in Colonel Tod's Somnath inscription to have commenced in A.D. 318, Skandagupta must be placed in A.D. 448-459 with a margin of five or ten years on each side.

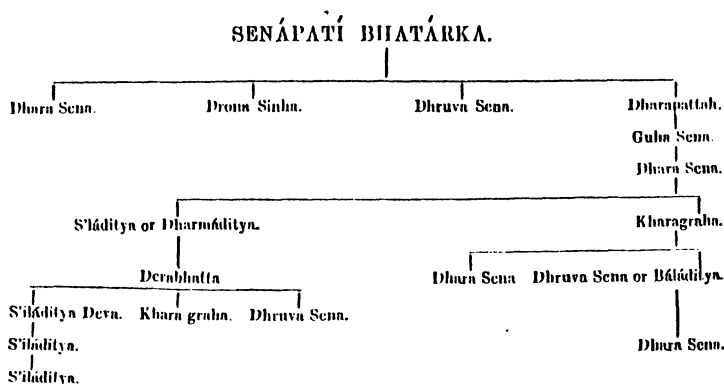
"The Valabhi plates bear dates in my opinion from 410 to 465 Saka Kála i.e. from A.D. 488 to A.D. 543. The Valabhi dynasty, of which Bhatárka Senápati was the founder, dates its rise, therefore, shortly after Skandagupta, a fact borne out by a comparison of the alphabetical characters of the monumental records of the Gupta dynasty, and of the copper plate grants of Valabhi. I may here remark that Dr. Mill's interpretation of Bhitári lat is most defective, and the genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty has not yet been correctly given. I should be thankful to any lover of antiquities for procuring for me a fresh fac simile of the Bhitári lat inscription.



stone upon which it is engraved, in a late report to the Government of India, from which the following is an extract :—

“*Khalsi*, on the Jumna, where the river leaves the hills. At

“The correct genealogy of the Valabhis is, I think, as under :—



“Colonel Cunningham is right in placing the Gupta era in A.D. 318, but in admitting the Guptas noticed by Hiouen-Tsang amongst the successors of Skandagupta he has committed a grave error which has been correctly and fully exposed by Mr. Thomas, who is, however, I think, himself wrong again in placing the Sals of the coins as early as the second and first century before Christ; and to a brief consideration of this point I shall now proceed.

“On comparing the alphabetical characters of the inscription in the reign of Padumávi, the Andhra King, at Nasik, Karlen, and Kanheri, with those of the Rudra Dámá or Sal inscription, no doubt the Padumávi inscriptions will appear the older of the two.

“This Padumávi or Puloman was pronounced long ago by Wilford to be identical with Siri Pulomai of Baithan or Paithan on the Godavery, mentioned by Ptolemy Claudius. Professor Lassen has also pointed out the identity. I have a new inscription of Padumávi on a tank on the Nana Ghaut. There is no reason to doubt that Padumávi, the Andhra King, was a contemporary of Ptolemy, and that he flourished about A.D. 120. Ptolemy in noticing Ozene or Ujjayini, mentions it as the royal residence of another king whom he calls Tiasstanus. This Tiasstanus is, in my humble opinion, no other than the Swámi Chashtan of our Sal inscription. If we grant that Chashtan was a contemporary of Padumávi and Ptolemy, we can well allow that Chashtan's grandson Rudra Dámá conquered repeatedly (as stated in the inscription) the last of the Andhras; for within 50 years of Padumávi's death, the Andhra dynasty ends, a misfortune no doubt brought about by the rising power and personal qualities of Rudra Dámá. I have already stated that a comparison of the alphabetical character of the inscriptions shows that Rudra Dámá flourished shortly after Padumávi; I have also shown that we must place the rise of the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 318, and as there are cogent reasons for believing that the Guptas succeeded the Sals, the date of A.D. 200 for Rudra Dámá appears not incompatible. I may here re-

this place there still exists a larger boulder-stone, covered with one of Asoka's inscriptions, in which the names of Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander are all recorded. This portion of the inscription, which on the rock of Kapurdigiri (in the Yusufzai plain), and of Dhauli (in Cuttack) is much mutilated and abraded, is here in perfect preservation."<sup>1</sup>

However imperfect in the contributions to history, these inscriptions possess a value peculiarly their own, under the Pakeographic aspect, in the assistance they have afforded, primarily, in determining the value of the hitherto obscure Semitic characters on the Kapurdigiri rock, and by their aid correcting the previously doubtful Bactrian counterparts of the Greek names on the early coins;<sup>2</sup> but, more important still, the phonetic value of the letters

mark that the most distinguished monarch of the S'atkarñi or Andhra dynasty was Gautamiputra, the father of Padumávi. He appears to have extended his conquests over Malwa, Gujarat, Cutch, Akar and all those provinces over which a Kshatrap or Satrap of the Parthian dynasty (Phrahates) ruled immediately before. This I make out from the inscriptions. Gautamiputra is praised for having established the glory of the S'átaváhan family, for having defeated Sakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, and for exterminating the descendants of Khagarát (Magadhi), Kshaharáta (Sanskrit), (Phrahates). As Nahapána, the Satrap of Phrahates judging from the character of the inscriptions, preceded Gautamiputra, and had proceeded on an expedition to Malabar from the North, and through the Deekan, the Andhra princes of Paithan could not have been powerful, and as Gautamiputra appears to have been the bravest and most successful of the whole, I am strongly inclined to look upon him as the founder of the S'áliváhan era.

"I cannot help also pointing out the great similarity of the titles Zathou Korano and Zathou Vahano, to S'atkarñi and S'ata Váhana. I am inclined to look upon Kadphises as Sipraka or Sikrapa, the founder of the Andhra dynasty; Krishna, his brother, as Kanerki, and Su-Hermeus his predecessor as Susarman the Kánva. If further analogies were required, I may point out the similarity of Athro to Andhra, and of Ado to Adha, also of Athro Pharo to Andhrabhrit, the former class of words occurring on the coins of Kadphises and Kanerki; the latter in the Puranas and inscriptions. The title Rao Nana Rao on the coins of Kanerki is more common in the Deekan, the former seat of the Andhras, than in any other part of India. I am also strongly inclined to look upon the name of Nana Ghant as coming from the goddess Nanaia. It contained in a cave or recess, at its top, images of the founder of the Andhra dynasty; also of the chiefs of the Marathas, of Kumára S'átaváhana, and Kumáro Hakesiri and of another Kumára whose name is lost. Haku may be intended for Hushka. The word Kumáro also occurs in some of the Indo-Seythie coins. These reflections regarding the founder of the Andhra dynasty, I beg to offer more as speculations to direct attention and invite discussion than as the mature results of deep research."

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S. B. No. 1. 1862, p. 99. Memorandum by Col. A. Cunningham regarding a proposed investigation of the Archaeological remains in Upper India.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Latham, in his paper on the date and personality of Priyadarsi (vol. xvii, p. 273 of this Journal), has failed to do justice to the assistance we derive from

being now uncontested, we are able to master the names and designations of the later sovereigns, who flourished at a period when the local character had superseded the debased and gradually disused Greek, which had hitherto furnished the sole key to the decipherment of the Semitic variety of Arian writing. And, finally, by the means thus placed at our disposal, we may hope to read what is now becoming of itself a promising series of Bactrian proper inscriptions, of which we have neither Greek nor Indian Pali transcripts or translations.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Norris's decipherment of the Kapurdigiri Inscription (J.R.A.S. viii, 303), and, singularly enough, quotes the Bactrian equivalents of the Greek names on the coins, from the "*Ariana Antiqua*," which purely tentative readings exhibit only our early want of knowledge of the character, and in no way prove the ignorance or incomplete power of definition of the local transcribers of ancient days; indeed, since Prof. Wilson has published his parallel transcript and translation of the various rock inscriptions of Aroka, we discover that the Arian versions of the Greek designations are defined with considerable accuracy, and by no means authorise the "latitude" in "identification," that should make Priyadarsi into Phraates. I need scarcely add that I do not concur in Dr. Latham's theory.

<sup>1</sup> Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra has lately published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1861 p. 337), a revised transliteration with an original translation of the Bactrian Palt Inscription on the Wardak vase, from the fac-simile lithographed as Plate x. vol. i, Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities (J. Murray, London, 1858). The Babu conjectures, with some plausibility, that the name of the Mahārāja is *Hurishka*, who has been identified with *Hushka*, the King of Kashmir of the Raja Tarangini, the Oerki, OOHPI, of the debased Greek numismatic legends (*Ariana Antiqua* 375), whose name is so frequently associated with that of Kanishka, the Kanerki of the Indo-Scythian Coins. I may add, as a matter of interest connected with monumental records of this age, that an inscription of Hushka, in the square Indian-Pali character, has been lately discovered at Muttra. (See note by Mr. E. C. Bayley, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1861, p. 347).

Professor Dowson has succeeded in mastering the inscription on a steatite funeral vase, preserved in the Peshāwur Museum, which proves to refer to the erection of a *tope* by the Brothers Gihitena and Siha-rachhitena. And finally Mr. Norris, in concert with Mr. Dowson, is engaged on a most promising inscription from the neighbourhood of Hussun Abdal, near Rāwul Pindce, in the Panjāb, regarding which Professor Dowson has obligingly communicated to me the following notice:—

"The plate, which is fourteen inches long by three and-a-half broad, is broken in the middle, where many of the letters are lost; a connected reading of the whole cannot, therefore, be hoped for. The King's name is *Chhatrapa Siliako Kusuluko*; these words are followed by *nama*, so there can be no doubt that they form the name. After the name there are some letters obliterated, and then follow the words *Takhasilaye nagare utarena prachu deso*, which probably mean 'the country north-east of Taxila.' The words *Chhatrapa liako* are stamped as

I now annex an English version of the texts of the classic historians.

"Justin, xli, c. iv.<sup>1</sup>—After the death of Alexander the Great, when the kingdoms of the east were divided among his successors, the government of Parthia was committed to Stasanor, a foreign ally, because none of the Macedonians would deign to accept it. Subsequently, when the Macedonians were divided into parties by civil discord, the Parthians, with the other people of Upper Asia, followed Eumenes, and when he was defeated, went over to Antigonus. After his death they were under the rule of Seleucus Nicator, and then under Antiochus, and his successors, from whose great-grandson, Seleucus,<sup>2</sup> they first revolted, in the first Punic war, when Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Attilius Regulus were Consuls.<sup>3</sup>

an endorsement on the back of the plate." I myself have not had an opportunity of examining this inscription, but I should be inclined, as a first conjecture, to identify the *Kusuluko* with some of the Kozola Kadapes family. The figured date on the plate is  $\times\times,333$ , which is followed by the words *Maharajasa mahata*, &c. (Prinsep's Essays ii. 202, 203).

<sup>1</sup> Translation of the Rev. J. S. Watson. Bohn's Edit: London, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> Clinton justly remarks,—“The account of Justin is inconsistent with his date. *Seleucus*, the son of *Antiochus Theus*, began to reign four years later. But this date is confirmed by Arrian apud Photium, cod. 58, who seems to fix the revolt to the reign of *Antiochus*. \* Eusebius agrees in this date, Ol. 132, 3 [B.C. 250] Parthi a Macedonibus defeecerunt: ex hisque unus imperavit Arsaces a quo Arsacidae \* \* Suidas Ἀρσάκης ὁ Παρθύσιος, &c. \* \* The 293 years computed from B.C. 538 (the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus* in the Canon) will give B.C. 245 for the commencement. Strabo, xi, c. ix, 2 \* \* The establishment was therefore gradual, and might not be completed till the reign of *Seleucus*. Justin xli, 4, describes the acquisitions of Arsaces as gradual, and adds, c. 5, “quæsito simul constitutoque regno matura senectute decessit.”—Fasti Hellenici, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Clinton Fasti Romani, ii, 243, places Arsaces in B.C. 250. Fasti Hellenici iii, p. 18, “I read in Justin L. Manlio Vulsone C. Atilio Regulo cons—that is, I understand with Valesius ad Annianum 23, 6, 3, Caius Atilius Regulus L. Manlius Vulso the consuls of B.C. 250, and not L. Manlius Vulso Marcus Atilius Regulus the consuls of B.C. 256. I prefer the lower date because it is more consistent with Justin himself, who refers the acts of Arsaces to the reign of Seleucus, B.C. 246, and with the dates preserved by other authorities. Eusebius and Suidas, who are quoted in the Tables F. II. iii, p. 18, give B.C. 250 and 246. Moses Chorenensis ii, 1, refers the rise of Arsaces to the 11th year of Antiochus Theus: undecimo ejus anno a Macedonum jugo Parthi defeccere, that is in B.C. 251; or 60 years after the era of the Seleucidae began: ii, 2, post sexaginta annos quam Alexander mortuus est, Parthis imperitavit Arsaces. But the 60th year of that era (which is here meant) was completed in autumn, B.C. 252. These dates also more nearly agree with the later date, B.C. 250.”

Mr. J. Lindsay, the latest writer on Parthian Numismatics, places the revolt of the Parthians in 255 B.C.; but as he does not notice Clinton's emendation of

For their revolt, the dispute between the two brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, procured them impunity; for while they sought to wrest the throne from one another, they neglected to pursue the revolters.

"At the same period, also, Theodotus, governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, revolted, and assumed the title of king; and all the other people of the east, influenced by his example, fell away from the Macedonians. One, Arsaces, a man of uncertain origin, but of undisputed bravery, happened to arise at this time, and he, who was accustomed to live by plunder and depredations, hearing a report that Seleucus was overcome by the Gauls in Asia, and being consequently freed from dread of that prince, invaded Parthia with a band of marauders, overthrew Andragoras, his lieutenant, and after putting him to death, took upon himself the government of the country. Not long after, too, he made himself master of Hyrcania, and thus, invested with authority over two nations, raised a large army, through fear of Seleucus and Theodotus, king of the Bactrians. But being soon relieved of his fears by the death of Theodotus, he made peace and an alliance with his son, who was also named Theodotus;<sup>1</sup> and not long after, engaging with King Seleucus, who came to take vengeance on the revolters, he obtained a victory; and the Parthians observe the day on which it was gained with great solemnity, as the date of the commencement of their liberty.

"Justin, xli, c. v.—Seleucus being then recalled into Asia by new disturbances, and respite being thus given to Arsaces, [ii.<sup>d</sup>] he settled the Parthian government, levied soldiers, built fortresses, and

the consular date, or enter upon any discussion of the subject, I presume he accepted the ordinarily received epoch without question. "Coinage of the Parthians," Cork, 1852. The author of the article, "Arsaces," in Smith's Dictionary (London, 1844), who seems to have examined the various authorities with unusual care, gives the preference to the date of 250 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> M. de Bartholomæi, in his "Réponse à Mr. Droysen," incidentally offers some valuable criticisms on this statement of Justin:—

"Nous ferons observer encore, que le témoignage de Justin sur les premiers Arsacides est assez conforme à celui qui nous occupe dans ce moment. On le trouve dans le même livre. Justin, après avoir fait des deux premiers rois Parthes un seul Arsace, dit de ce roi: 'Cujus memoriæ hunc honorem Parthi tribuerunt ut omnes exinde reges suos Arsacis nomine nuncupent. Hujus filius et successor regni Arsaces et ipse nomine' \* \* Il s'agit cependant du troisième roi Parthe que nous trouvons dans un auteur bien plus digne de foi, sous le nom d'Artaban, et ce dernier nom, ainsi que celui du second roi (Tiridate) a été omis par Justin. Cette double omission ne peut être motivée par la seule raison que tous les rois s'appelaient Arsace, car dans ce cas ce nom répété ne signifierait rien; ou bien,

strengthened his towns. \* \* His son [?] and successor on the throne, whose name was also Arsaces, fought with the greatest bravery against Antiochus the son of Seleucus, who was at the head of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, and was at last taken into alliance with him.

"Justin xli, c. vi.—Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eucratides began to reign among the Bactrians; <sup>1</sup> both of them being great men. But the fortune of the Parthians, being the more successful, raised them, under this prince, to the highest degree of power; while the Bactrians, harassed with various wars, lost not only their dominions, but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians, and the Indians, they were at last overcome, as if exhausted, by the weaker Parthians. Eucratides, however, carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of 60,000 enemies. Having accordingly escaped, after a five month's siege, he reduced India under his power. But as he was returning from the country, he was killed on his march by his son, with whom he had shared his throne, and who was so far from concealing the murder, that, as if he had killed an enemy, and not his father, he drove his chariot through his blood, and ordered his body to be cast out unburied. During the course of these proceedings among the Bactrians, a war arose between the Parthians and Medes, and, after fortune on each side had been some time fluctuating, victory at length fell to the Parthians, when Mithridates, enforced with this addition to his power, appointed Bacasis over Media, while he himself marched into Hyrcania (and ultimately) extended the Parthian empire \* \* from Mount Caucasus to the river Euphrates."

[As the prologue of this book of Justin's history is of considerable importance, I revert to the original text]. Prologus, lib. xli.

si l'auteur avait voulu l'appliquer à tous les rois, il aurait également suffi au 4<sup>me</sup> dont Justin fait le 3<sup>me</sup>; (tertius Parthorum rex Priapatius fuit, sed et ipse Arsaces) or Justin s'exprimant de la même manière sur le nom du fils de Diodote que sur celui du fils d'Arsace, a bien pu commettre le même genre d'erreur pour tous les deux. \* \* \* "Mais Justin confond quelquefois les faits, et encore plus souvent les noms; et comme cette fois il n'est appuyé par aucun autre auteur, son témoignage concernant le nom du fils et successeur de Diodote, n'est pas d'un bien grand poids." 134.

<sup>1</sup> Delph. Note, n.c. 182.

Uno et quadrigesimo volumine continentur res Parthicae et Bactrianæ. In Parthiis, ut est constitutum imperium per Arsacem regem. \* \* In Bactrianis autem rebus ut a Diodoto regnum constitutum est: deinde quare pugnantes Scythicae gentes Saraucæ et Asiani Bactra occupavere, et Sogdianos. Indicæ quoque res additæ, gestæ per Apollodotum et Menandrum, reges eorum. Teubner's Edit., p. 232, 1859.

Strabo, B. xi, c. ix, 2.<sup>1</sup>—Disturbances having arisen in the countries beyond the Taurus in consequence of the Kings of Syria and Media, who possessed the tract of which we are speaking, being engaged in other affairs,<sup>2</sup> those who were intrusted with the government of it occasioned first the revolt of Bactriana; then Euthydemus and his party the revolt of all the country near that province.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Arsaces, a Scythian<sup>4</sup> \* \* invaded Parthia, and made himself master of it. \* \* The Parthians at last took possession

<sup>1</sup> Translation by W. Falconer.—Bohn's Edit., London, 1856.

<sup>2</sup> Adopting Tyrwhitt's conjecture πρὸς ἄλλοις. W.F.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo xi. s. iv. French translation by MM. De la Porte du Theil, Coray, and Gosselin. Paris, 1806. Vol. iv. p. 272.

Il se fut élevé de grands troubles dans les pays d'AU DELÀ du Taurus; on vit d'abord les officiers auxquels étoit confié le gouvernement de la Bactriane, se soustraire à leur autorité; et Euthydème se rendit maître de ce qui avoisinoit cette province." Ensuite Arsacès, Scythe d'origine, &c.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere [ix, 3] Strabo says,—“according to others he was a Bactrian, and, withdrawing himself from the increasing power of Diodotus, occasioned the revolt of Parthia.”

<sup>a</sup> *On vit d'abord, &c.* Je crois avoir rendu assez littéralement le grec:—*Πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Βάκτριαν ἀπέστησαν οἱ πεπιστευμένοι, καὶ τὴν ἐγγύχῃ πᾶσαν οἱ περὶ Εὐθύδημον.* Mais cette phrase obscure donne matière à beaucoup de difficultés historiques et chronologiques. Pour les exposer toutes, fût-ce de la manière la plus simple, il faudroit une note extrêmement longue; et je ne tenterai point de les résoudre, quand, à plusieurs reprises, de savans hommes l'ont vainement essayé.<sup>6</sup> Seulement dirai-je que, d'après un autre passage (cap. xiv.) on pourroit croire qu'ici les mots, *καὶ τὴν ἐγγύχῃ αὐτῆς πᾶσαν οἱ περὶ Εὐθύδημον*, annonçant des faits postérieurs à la première défection des satrapes de la Bactriane, et même à la révolte d'Arsacès I dans la Parthie, doivent être regardés comme une espèce de parenthèse. Clinton, in referring to the same passage, remarks, “Strabo makes the revolt of Bactria precede the rise of the Parthians. But he speaks without precision, for we know from Polybius that Euthydemus was contemporary with Antiochus; and, according to Strabo himself, the founder of the Bactrian kingdom was Diodotus.” F.H. app. 315.

<sup>b</sup> Conf. Palmer Exercitat. &c., p. 332. Vaillant, *Arsacid. imp. &c.* tom. 1, p. 1, et seq. Longuer, *Annal. Arsacid.* p. 1, et seq. Bayer, *Hist. regn. Græc.*

of all the country within the Euphrates. They deprived Eucratides, and then the Scythians, by force of arms, of a part of Bactriana.

Strabo, cxi, 1.—1. The Greeks who occasioned the revolt [of Bactria] became so powerful by means of the fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artamita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east, and Isamus) conquered more nations than Alexander.<sup>1</sup> These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, King of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Pattalene, but of the kingdoms of Saraostus and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast. \* \* \* \*

Their cities were Bactria, which they call also Zariaspa \* \* and Darapsa, and many others.<sup>2</sup> Among these was Eucratidia, which had its name from Eucratidas, the king. When the Greeks got possession of the country they divided it into satrapies, that of Aspionus and Turiva the Parthians took from Eucratidas. They possessed Sogdiana also, situated above Bactriana, to the east, between the river Oxus (which bounds Bactriana and Sogdiana) and the Iaxartes; the latter river separates the Sogdii and the nomades.

Polybius, x, 9.<sup>3</sup>—When Antiochus was informed that Euthyde-

<sup>1</sup> Strabo speaking of the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy information regarding these distant countries elsewhere [xv. 2, 3] remarks: "Apollodorus, for instance, author of the Parthian History, when he mentions the Greeks who occasioned the revolt of Bactriana from the Syrian kings, who were the successors of Seleucus Nicator, says, that when they became powerful they invaded India. He adds no discoveries to what was previously known; and even asserts, in contradiction to others, that the Bactrians had subjected to their dominion a larger portion of India than the Macedonians; for Eucratidas (one of these kings) had a thousand cities subject to his authority. But other writers affirm that the Macedonians conquered nine nations, situated between the Hydaspes and the Hypanis, and obtained possession of 500 cities, not one of which was less than Cos Meropis, and that Alexander, after having conquered all this country, delivered it up to Porus."

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy vii, 1, 46. *Σάγαλα ἡ καὶ Εὐθουδημία*. M. P. Vivien de Saint-Martin identifies this city with the modern Amritsir. "Etude sur la géographie grecque et latine de l'Inde." Paris, 1858.

<sup>3</sup> From Hampton's Polybius.



mus had encamped with his whole army near Taguria, and that he had stationed a body of 10,000 cavalry upon the banks of the river Arius to defend the passage, he immediately raised the siege, and resolved to pass the river and to advance towards the enemy. Being distant three days' journey from the place \* \* the Bactrian cavalry, being now informed by their scouts of what had happened, ran towards the river, and were ready to attack the troops as they marched \* \* [the result of the engagement was to force] the Bactrians, whose ranks were already broken, to fly in great disorder. Nor did they stop their flight till they had reached the camp of Euthydemus \* \* Antiochus had a horse killed under him in the battle, and was himself wounded in the mouth \* \* Euthydemus, disheartened by this defeat, retreated to Zariaspa, a city of Bactriana, with all his army.

Polybius, xi, 8.—Euthydemus, who was himself a native of Magnesia, endeavoured to justify his conduct, and said that Antiochus had no reason for attempting to deprive him of his kingdom, since he never had rebelled against him, but had only obtained possession of Bactriana by destroying the descendants<sup>1</sup> of those who had before revolted. He insisted long upon this point, and entreated Teleas to mediate for him with Antiochus that hostilities might cease, and that he might be allowed to retain the name of king. He urged that such a reconciliation was even necessary for their common safety. That those wandering tribes, who were spread in great numbers along the borders of the province, were alike dangerous to them both \* \* With these instructions he sent back Teleas to the King.

Antiochus, who had long been desirous of putting an end to the war, acknowledged the force of these reasons, and declared himself willing to accept the peace that was offered. And when Teleas had gone and returned again many times, Euthydemus at last sent his own son Demetrius to ratify the treaty. The king received him favourably, and \* \* promised to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and to suffer his father to retain the name of king. The rest of the treaty was expressed in writing, and the alliance confirmed by oaths.

<sup>1</sup> As this passage has an important bearing on certain arguments I have yet to develop, I transcribe the original text:—*Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Εὐθύδημος Μάγνης· πρὸς ὃν ἀπειλογίζετο φάσκων, ὡς οὐ δικαίως αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβαλεῖν σπονδάζει· γιγνόμεναι γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστάτης τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ', ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστάντων, ἐπανελόμενος τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις· οὕτω κρατῆσαι τῆς Βακτριανῶν ἀρχῆς.* Polyb. xi, c. 34.—See also Bayer, p. 67, and a note on *ἐκγόνοις*, in *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 218.

After this transaction, Antiochus, having first distributed a large quantity of corn among his troops and taken the elephants that belonged to Euthydemus, began his march with all his army. Passing Mount Caucasus, he came into India and renewed his alliance with Sophagasenus, the Indian king. In this place he obtained more elephants, so that the whole number was now 150; and having furnished his army with a new supply of corn, he again decamped, but left Androsthenes behind him to receive the money which the king had engaged to pay. He then traversed the province of Arachosia, and having passed the river Erymanthus and advanced through Drangia into Carmania, as the winter now approached, he sent his troops into quarters. P. 319.

The above complete the fragments relating directly to Bactrian history. Among the incidental notices, I may advert to Plutarch's anecdote of the distribution of Menander's ashes,<sup>1</sup> which has an interesting bearing upon other questions of Indian Archeology,<sup>2</sup> as well as to the statement in the *Periplus* of the continued currency of the coins of Menander and Apollodotus at Baroach.<sup>3</sup>

Having exhibited the materials contributed by classic authors towards the determination of the history of the Greek dynasties in Bactria, I next reproduce an abstract of the conclusions arrived at by the more prominent commentators on the general subject—from Bayer, who had to rely almost exclusively on the fragmentary passages I have just quoted—to the later writers, who have each, in their degree, had the advantage of the gradually accumulating Numismatic testimony now represented by nearly 250 different types of coins, independent of the minor varieties of each.

<sup>1</sup> Latin Translation—Plutarchi opera, vol. 4, p. 821.—“At Menandri ejusdam, qui apud Bactra regnum moderatè gesserat, in castris mortui civitates funus cum pro consuetudine procurassent, de reliquiis in certamen pervenerunt, agrèque pax hac conditione coit, ut singulæ parte cinerum ablata æquali, monumentum ei viro apud se queque ponerent.”—Hudson, edit. p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Note on Topes, Prinsep's Essays, I. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Latin Translation.—Alexander ex his (Bactriorum) regionibus profectus, usque ad Gangem descendit, relinquens a latere Limyricam et australia Indiae: quamobrem nunc ad hodiernum diem in Barygasis veteres commenant drachmæ literis Græcis inscriptæ, titulo eorum, qui post Alexandrum requarunt, Apollodoti et Menandri: est etiam illa in regione ad orientem urbs dicta Ozene, in qua olim regia erat.—Vincent, Commerce of the Ancients, ii. 204; Wilson, AA. 348; J.R.A.S. xii. 46.

## BACTRIAN DYNASTIES.

## No. 1.

## BAYER'S LIST (1738 A.D.).

- 1.—Theodotus I. 255 n.c.<sup>1</sup> regni Bactriani conditor.
- 2.—Theodotus II. 243 n.c. Theodotus Theodoti f. pacem facit cum Parthis.
- 3.—Euthydemus 220 n.c. regno evertit Theodotum regem.  
n.c. 208, Antiochus iii., Euthydemum bello petit. n.c. 205, Antiochus cum Euthydemo pacem facit.
- 4.—Menander 195 n.c. Rex Indio et Bactrianæ.
- 5.—Eucratides 181 n.c.  
n.c. 152. Mithridates Parthus Mediam Hyrcaniam et Elymaida occupat.
- 6.—Eucratides Eucratidis f. 146 n.c.

## No. 2.

## CLINTON'S LIST (1830).

"The Greek kingdom of Bactriana was founded at the same time with the Parthian, and subsisted for about 120 or 130 years, under seven kings:—

B.C.	1. Diodotus.	}	B.C. 200 to	4. Demetrius.
250 to 200.	2. Diodotus II.		130 or 120.	5. Menander.
	3. Euthydemus.			6. Eucratides.
				7. Eucratides II.

"Diodotus or Theodotus \* \* then Theodotus ii., and Euthydemus, with whom Antiochus Magnus was engaged. These three kings \* \* appear to have occupied a space of about fifty years n.c. 250-200." Demetrius, Menander, Eucratides. \* \* "We may discern in these notices, Eucratides, a warlike king, the master of 1,000 cities, who was despoiled of his provinces by the Parthians, and finally lost his kingdom to the Scythians. Between Arsaces ii., who was contemporary with Euthydemus, and this Mithridates i., Justin (xli. 5) reckons two kings of Parthia, whose times would correspond with the reigns of Demetrius and Menander. Eucratides ii., in whom the Bactrian monarchy ended, appears to have been no other than the son of Eucratides I., recorded by Justin as the murderer of his father. These four last kings might extend the duration of the kingdom to seventy or eighty years longer, and might terminate at n.c. 120 or 130." *Fasti Hellenici* iii, 315.

<sup>1</sup> Parthorum primi tumultus et prima eorum epocha, 250 n.c. Altera epocha Parthici regni, 247, n.c. Arsaces Hyrcaniam occupat, 244 n.c. Arsaces contra Theodotum regem bellum parat.

## No. 3.

PROF. H. H. WILSON. (1841.)<sup>1</sup>

## GREEK DYNASTIES.

	B.C.		B.C.
Theodotus I. ....	256	Philoxenes .....	130
Theodotus II. ....	240	Antialkides .....	135
Euthydemus .....	220—190	Archebius .....	125—120
Demetrius .....	190	Menander .....	126
Eukatrides .....	181	Apollodotus .....	110
Heliokles .....	147	Diomedes .....	100
Lysias .....	147	Hermæus .....	98
Amyntas .....	135	Agathokles .....	135
Agathokleia .....		Pantaleon .....	120
Antimachus .....	140		

## BARBARIC KINGS.

## SU-HERMÆUS, KADAPHES, KADPHISES.

Mayes .....	100	Azilises .....	60
Palirius .....	80	Azes .....	50
Spalyrius .....	75	ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΤΑΣ, <i>King of Kings</i>	

<sup>1</sup> The following is a summary of the more prominent contributions to Bactrian Numismatics prior to 1840 :—

1. Köhler, *Médailles grecques de Rois de la Bactriane, du Bosphore*. St. Petersburg, 1822; Supplément, 1823.

2. Tychsen, *Comentt. Recentt.* Göttingg. v., vi.

3. Schlegel, *Journal Asiatique*, 1828.

4. James Prinsep, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1833 to 1838. Republished in the edition of his *Essays*, London, 1858.

5. Raoul Rochette, *Journal des Savants*, 1834 to 1839, and 1844.

6. K. O. Möller, *Göttingen Anzeigen*, 1835 (No. 177), 1838 (No. 21).

7. Mionnet, *Suppl.* viii. 1837.

8. Lassen, 'Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige.' Bonn, 1838. Republished in the *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1840.

9. Grotefend *Die Münzen der Könige von Bactrien*. Hanover, 1839.

I am not aware that any of the above works require especial notice. The value and importance of James Prinsep's labours in the cause of Oriental Numismatics and Palæography are, I trust, sufficiently appreciated by the ordinary readers of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. It may be necessary, however, that I should advert briefly to M. Raoul Rochette's series of *Essays* in the *Journal des Savants*, which are not so readily accessible to English students. The antiquarian and purely numismatic portion of these are fully worthy of M. R. Rochette's deservedly high reputation; but the general consistency of his classification is sadly damaged by an eccentric theory, perseveringly adhered to, regarding the origination of the Bactrian Dynasty, which he attributes to the Agathocles, (elsewhere called *Pherides*; *Arrian* apud Photium, lvi.), mentioned by Syncellus as the Governor of Persia, on the part of Antiochus ii., and who M. Rochette

## INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTY.

Vonones .....	Kodes .....
Undopherres .....	Miscellaneous Arsacidan
Gondophares .....	Kings .....
Abagasus .....	

## INDO-SCYTHIAN PRINCES OF KABUL.

Kadphises .....	Ooerki .....
Kanerki .....	Baraoro .....
Kenorano .....	Sassanians .....

## CONTEMPORARY CLASSIFICATION.

Euthydemus.	
Demetrius .....	Enkratides.
Lysias .....	Heliokles.
Amyntas .....	Antialkides .....
Agathokleia .....	Antimachus .....
Archebius .....	Agathokles .....
Philoxenes .....	Menander .....
	Pantaleon .....
	Apollodotus .....
	Diomedes .....
	Hermæus .....
	Su-Hermæus (?) .....
	'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 267.

## No. 4.

## M. DE BARTHOLOMÆI'S LIST.

1. Défection de la Bactriane et commencement du règne de Diodote, vers 256 av. J. C.
2. Agathoclès succède à son père [Diodote I<sup>r</sup>], vers 240 av. J. C.
3. Euthydème s'empare du trône de la Bactriane par le meurtre d'Agathoclès 215 av. J. C.
4. Pantaléon se maintient dans le Kaboulistan oriental contre Euthydème jusque, vers 214 av. J. C.
5. Guerre d'Euthydème avec Antiochus après 210 av. J. C.
6. Traité de paix, conclu avec le Roi de Syrie, vers 205 av. J. C.
7. Euthydème fait des conquêtes dans l'Ariane et l'Arachoise, vers 200 av. J. C.
8. Demétrius fils d'Euthydème succède à son père, vers 190 J. C.
9. Eueratides s'empare de la royauté dans la Bactriane, Demétrius fonde une monarchie dans l'Arachoise et dans les contrées de l'Inde qui avaient été conquises par son père vers 181 av. J. C.
10. Eueratides fait pendant plusieurs années la guerre à Demétrius et finit par s'emparer de ses états, vers 164 av. J. C.
11. Eueratides étend ses conquêtes dans l'Inde, vers 160 av. J. C.

identifies with *the* Agathokles of the coins, completing the association by supposing him to have been the father and grandfather respectively of Diodotus I and Diodotus II. (J. des Sav. 1835, p. 593; 1836 p. 75).

12. Meurtre d'Eucratide, par son fils Heliocles, qui s'empare de la couronne en Bactriane, vers 155 av. J. C.  
 Ici commence le démembrement graduel de la monarchie, et les données historiques semblent nous manquer pour tenter même un ordre chronologique quelconque.
13. Antimachus fonde un royaume dans la Drangiane.
14. Antialcidas réunit sous sa domination l'Arachosie et la Kaboulistan oriental.
15. Ménandre fonde un puissant royaume dans l'Inde.
16. Arsace VI., Mitridate I<sup>er</sup> roi Parthe, envahit la Drangiane, vers 145 av. J. C.
17. Chûte complète de la Monarchie grecque-bactrienne, proprement dite, vers 139 av. J. C. 'Köhnes Zeitschrift,' 1843, p. 76.

## No. 5.

## MAJOR CUNNINGHAM'S TABLE.

No. B.C.

- |    |         |   |  |
|----|---------|---|--|
| 1  | 256     | Diodotus I.   | } Bactriana (including Sogdiana, Bactria, and Margiana). |
|    | 243     | Diodotus II.  |  |
| 2  | 247     | Agathocles  | } Paropamisadæ and Nysa.                                 |
| 3  | 227     | Pantaleon   |  |
| 4  | 220     | Euthydemus—Bactriana, Ariana (including Aria, Drangia, Arachosia, and Paropamisadæ), Nysa, and subsequently Gandharitis, Peukelao-tis, and Taxila.  |  |
| 5  | 196     | Demetrius—ditto, ditto; and, later in his reign, Patalene, Syrastrène, Larice.  |  |
| 6  | 190     | Heliocles—Bactriana and Paropamisadæ.   |  |
| 7  | 190     | Antimachus Theos—Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.  |  |
| 8  | 185     | Eucratides—Bactriana, Ariana, besides Patalene, Syrastrène, and Larice, as well as Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.  |  |
| 9  | 173     | Antimachus Nikephoros—Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila, contemporarily with Eucratides' retention of the rest of his dominions.   |  |
| 10 | 165     | Philoxenes—succeeds to Antimachus Nikephoros' kingdom.  |  |
| 11 |         | Nicias—ditto, with the exception of Taxila.   |  |
| 12 | 165     | Apollodotus succeeds Eucratides in Ariana, as well as Pata., Syr., Lar.   |  |
| 13 |         | Zoilus  | } follow Apollodotus in Ariana alone.                    |
| 14 |         | Diomedes  |  |
| 15 |         | Dionysius   |  |
| 16 | 159     | Lysias—succeeds these in Paropamisadæ, and obtains Nicias' dominion of Nysa, Gand., and Peuk.; while Mithridates I. possesses himself of Ariana, having previously gained Margiana from Eucratides. |  |
| 17 | 150     | Antialcidas—succeeds to Lysias' kingdom.  |  |
| 18 |         | Amyntas   | } follow Antialcidas                                     |
| 19 |         | Archebius   |  |
| 20 | 161—140 | Ménander—reigns in Paropamisadæ, Nysa, Gand., Peuk., Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Patalene, Syr., Lar.   |  |
| 21 | 135     | Strato—succeeds, with the exception of the countries of Pata., Syr., Lar., which fall to Maues.   |  |
| 22 |         | Hippostratus  | } follow Strato.   |
| 23 |         | Telephus  |  |

- 24 126 Hermæus—rules over Parop., Nysa, Gand., Peuk. (The Su-Sakas obtain Aria, Drangia, and Arach., from the Parthians).
- 25 Maupas—has Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Pata., Syr., Lar.
- 26 105 Kadphises—(Yuchi)—takes possession of Hermæus' kingdom, and Taxila from Maupas (Kozola Kadaphes).
- 27 Vonones }  
 28 Spalygia } Paropamisadæ.  
 29 Spalirises }
- 30 110 Azas—succeeds Maupas, obtaining also, in 90 B.C., Nysa, Gand., and Peuk.
- 31 80 Azilises—succeeds Azas in the three latter, adding Taxila, and the Paropamisadæ.
- 32 80 The Soter Megas obtains the dominions of Azas, and subsequently those of Azilises.
- 60 The Yuchi again possess Parop., Nysa, and Tax., &c.
- 33 26 Gondophares—reigns in Ariana.
- 34 Abdagases (and Sinnakes or Adinnigaus)—ditto in ditto, less the Parop.
- A.D.
- 35 44 Arsaces (Ornosades or Orthomasdes)—ditto, ditto.
- 36 107 Pakores Monesses—ditto, ditto (Hiätheleh in Bactriana).  
 [36<sup>a</sup> Orthagnes.]
- 207 Artemon—in Aria, Drangia, Arachosia.  
 Sassanians.

"Numismatic Chronicle," vol. viii., p. 175 (1843).

#### No. 6.

#### M. LASSEN'S LIST.

#### DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN UND GRIECHISCH-INDISCHEN KÖNIGE

##### 1. DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN.

Diodotus I., vor 250 vor Chr. G.<sup>1</sup>

Diodotus II., seit 237 ..... Agathokles, in Badakshan und am  
 obern Indus seit 245.

Euthydemos, unabhängig seit .... 245 ;  
 in Baktrien seit ..... 222 ; Pantaleon.

Demetrios, seit 205 ; besiegt um 165.

Eukratides, nach 180.

Heliokles, seit 160 ; Lysias, nach 165 ; Antimachus, seit 170.

Archibios, 150-140 ; Antialkides ; .... Philoxenes, um 160.

Amyntas.

<sup>1</sup> Lassen had originally adopted the date 256 B.C. "Zur Geschichte, &c., 1838."

2. DIE GRIECHISCH-INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

Appollodotus, nach 160.

Zoilos und Dionysios.

Menandros, seit 144.

Straton, um 124.

Hipposratos, nach 114.

Diomedes, Nikias, Telephos, zwischen 114 u. 100.

Hermaios, 100 – 85.

DIE INDOSKYTHISCHEN UND PARTHISCHEN KÖNIGE.

1. CAKA-KÖNIGE.

Mayes, nach 120 vor Chr. G.

Azilises, um 160.

Azes, seit 95.

Spalirios, um 60.

Vonones, kurz vor u. nach Chr. G.

Spalygis.

Yndopherres, um 90.

Abdagases, von 40 bis 30.

2. JUEITCHI-KÖNIGE.

Kadphises I., nach 85 vor Chr. G.

Kadaphes, und seine namenlosen Nachfolger etwa bis 60 v. Chr. G.

Kadphises II., seit 24 vor Chr. G., bis etwa 1.

3. TURUSHKA-KÖNIGE.

Hushka oder Oerki, von etwa 10 vor bis 5 nach Chr. G.

Gushka, bis 10 nach Chr. G.

Kanishka, oder, Kanerki, bis 40.

Balan, bis 45.

Oer Kenorano, bis 60.

“Indische Alterthumskunde,” vol. ii., p. xxiv., published 1852.

Antiochus Theos, in addition to the ordinary currency of the Western portion of his dominions, exhibiting the conventional *reverse* device of “Apollo seated on the cortina,” seems to have issued a special currency for the Eastern provinces bearing the emblem of Jupiter Ægiochus. These latter coins are interesting, as forming the connecting link in the Numismatic history of the period—between the expiring dominancy of the Seleucids in Bactria and the assertion of independence by Diodotus, who continues to use the same style and device, with his own newly assumed title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

This special coinage is more important, however, in its bearing upon the subsequent issues, in the connexion between the two series established by identity of Mint-monograms, especially if



these are conceded, as a general rule, to be composed of the initial and closely following letters of the name of the city in which coins themselves were struck.

At present, the number of examples I am able to cite is limited to the following combinations as figured in Prinsep's *Essays* Pl. xi. c., Nos. A, B, C—Ca, combined with D, and No. 12, which last is simply the letter N.

In addition to these, a new coin of Sir Bartle Freres gives the monogram A, associated with a second mint mark, composed of an  $\Xi$  enclosed within an O.

#### DIODOTUS.

No. 1—Gold. Weight, 132·3 grains. Major Hay.

Obverse—Head of the king to the right, apparently giving the portrait of Diodotus at an early period of his reign.

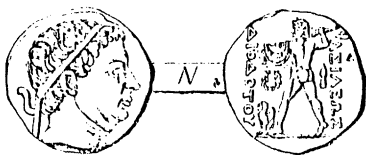
Reverse—Erect figure of Jupiter, in the act of hurling the thunderbolt;  $\mathcal{A}$ egis on the left arm; Eagle in front of the left foot; Chaplet in the field; no monogram.

Legend— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ}$ .

No. 2—Gold. Weight, 131·3 grains. Major Hay.

Similar to the above, No. 1. Except that the head of the king

#### No. 2.



is more finished, and represents his features at a more advanced period of life. On the reverse field, there is an addition of a spear-head under the left arm.

The only other known gold coin of this king is in the *Bibliothèque Impériale*. It has been described in the "*Journal des Savants*," by Raoul Rochette, and noticed in Wilson's "*Ariana Antiqua*" (p. 218). A *glyptique* line engraving of the coin may be referred to in the "*Trésor de Numismatique*," pl. lxxii., fig. 4.

The silver coins of Diodotus follow the types of the gold pieces given above—figure 1 of the accompanying Plate ii is a copy of the king's head on the obverse of a tetradrachma in the British Museum.

The monograms on Diodotus' proper coins are comprised in the following numbers, as discriminated in Pl. xi, c. Prinsep's Essays. No. 1 with **Ι**. No. 2 with **ϸ**, *a*. No. 2, *a*. Mr. Gibbs has a tetradrachma bearing a new monogram, composed of an open **M** with the centre angle prolonged downwards.

DIODOTUS AND AGATHOCLES.

No. 3—Tetradrachma, weight 4 drachms, 14 grains (French). M. de Bartholomæi.<sup>1</sup> Fig. 2, Plate iii. Kochnes' Zeitschrift, 1843.

Obverse—Head of Diodotus to the right.

Legend—ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Reverse—Erect figure of Jupiter, as in Diodotus' coins.

Legend—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Monogram—No. 3 Prinsep, with chaplet in the field.

No. 4—Plate ii, fig 2. A similar coin in the possession of Mr. J. Gibbs—monogram No. 4, Prinsep.

DIODOTUS AND ANTIMACHUS.

No. 5—Tetradrachma (cast). Major Hay.<sup>2</sup>

Obverse—Head to the right.

Legend—ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Reverse—Erect figure of Jupiter, as in Diodotus' coins.

Legend—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΟΕΟΥ.

Monogram—AN, with chaplet.

<sup>1</sup> First published in 1843, by the owner, in Köhnes Zeitschrift, p. 67, pl. iii, fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> An engraving of this cast may be seen in the "Numismatic Chronicle," fig. 7, plate iv, vol. ii, N.S. It may be necessary to explain how and why I venture to recognise and claim credence for a *cast* coin, that is, in effect, for a forgery. But the truth is, the not very discriminating demand by Europeans for Bactrian coins has, for long time past, stimulated the native goldsmiths and other cunning craftsmen of the Punjab to fabricate copies of the ancient Greek originals; this is usually effected with considerable skill by a casting of silver, more or less debased, in ordinary clay moulds, produced from direct impressions of the medal to be imitated. So that the intentional forgery simply constitutes for those who would use it as an aid to history, a very close reproduction of a genuine model. The most frequent practice is to cast in silver, and, on rare occasions in gold, counterparts of the true copper coins; as the more precious metal is more suitable for the purpose, and when turned out meets with a readier sale, at prices far higher in proportion than specimens of the lower currency. This prevailing usage does not, however, debar the fac-simile reproduction of the more rare silver coins, as may be seen in the present example. Indeed, within my own limited experience, I have had occasion to examine a collection made by an Officer of H.M.S. at

## EUTHYDEMUS AND AGATHOCLES.

No. 6—Plate ii, fig. 3. Tétradrachme. UNIQUE. Mr. J. Gibbs, Bombay, U.S.

Obverse—Head of Euthydemus to the right.

Legend—ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΟΕΟΥ.

Reverse—Hercules, seated on a rock, with a club in his right hand.

Legend—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Monogram No. 5, pl. xi. c. Prinsep.

## AGATHOCLES.

The ordinary types of Agathocles' proper coinage comprise three varieties:—

The first, exclusively of silver—having the head of the king on the obverse, combined with a reverse exhibiting Jupiter leaning on a spear, with a small figure of Diana Lucifera in his right hand, with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.<sup>1</sup>

Second, both silver and copper coins, displaying a finished and beautifully-executed head of Bacchus on the obverse, with a Panther reverse, and the usual Greek legend.<sup>2</sup>

Third, exclusively copper pieces, of a square form, apparently following the local Indian model,<sup>3</sup> having a Panther and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ on the other side—with the reverse of a Bacchante and a legend in the Indian-Pali or Ikt character Agathuklayēsa.<sup>4</sup>

Monograms, Nos. 3, 4, the mint marks found on the binominal coins of Diodotus. No. 5, which occurs on the medal acknowledging the supremacy of Euthydemus. No. 6, = AP, and the uncombined letters ΦΙ, and ΣΗ.

Peshāwur, in which were detected an absolute handful of silver casts, of various degrees of merit, all taken from one exquisite original of Agathocles' Panther type of money, which had, itself, without the purchaser's suspicion of its comparative value, found its way into a reassociation with its own family. But while pleading for the utility of *bona-fide* casts, which in some cases almost approach the accuracy of electrotypes, I must add, for the credit of Bactrian Numismatics, that no collector of ordinary acuteness need fear to be deceived by modern forgeries properly so called, that is, where dies have been cut for the purpose of producing new coins. Here Oriental aptitude is altogether at fault, the Eastern eye of the present day is unable to realize, equally as the hand is incapable of executing a semblance of Greek art.

<sup>1</sup> Tétradrachmas, pl. xiii, fig. 3. Prinsep's Essays. Pl. vi, fig. 3 Ariana Antiqua. Pl. ii, fig. 1. Journal des Savants, 1836. Pl. lxxiv, fig. 3. Trésor de Numismatique. Drachmas, J. des Sav. June, 1834, fig. 2.—A. A. vi, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. des Sav. 1834, plate, fig. 1. A. A. vi, 5, 6, T. de N. lxxiv, 2. Numismatique Journal, vii, pl. iii, fig. 30.

<sup>3</sup> See Prinsep's Essays, vol. i, page 220.

<sup>4</sup> J. des Sav. 1835, pl. i, fig. 1. A. A. vi, figs. 7, 8, 9.

## PANTALEON.

I dispose at once of the coins of Pantaleon, in sequence to those of Agathocles, as they imitate severally the lower types of the latter king, and offer but little subject for remark beyond the retention of the Indian Pali characters in the expression of the Oriental version of the prince's name.

The specimens available are limited to a unique coin of the late Mr. Brereton's, with the head of Bacchus and the Panther reverse, and the not uncommon mintage of square copper pieces, similar to those of Agathocles, having a Panther on the obverse, with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ—combined with a reverse of a Bacchante, and the Indian Pali name *Pantalēvasa*.<sup>1</sup>

## ANTIMACHUS THEOS.

The ordinary coins of Antimachus Theos are limited to a single series in silver, of which we have specimens in the descending scale, of Tetradrachmas, Drachmas, Hemidrachmas, and Oboli. These uniformly bear the head of Antimachus with the Causia, or Macedonian Hat, and a reverse device of a figure of Neptune standing, to the front, with trident and palm branch, accompanied by the legend, arranged in two lines:—thus,

## ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΕΟΥ—ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

The king's countenance is marked, and the likeness is usually well preserved. An engraving from a Tetradrachma in the B.M. is given as fig. 4 of the accompanying plate. Other engravings may be seen in the *Mionnet*. Supp. viii., 466. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xxi. 12. *Num. Chron.*, vol. xiii., fig. 2, plate, page 70.

The monograms on Antimachus Theos' coins are represented under the following numbers of pl. xi. c. Prinsep's Essays:—Nos. 8*a*, 9*a*. 23—27. 48. c. Cunningham J.A. S. B. ix., p. 872. To these must be added the new monogram AN, which occurs on the Diodotus' medals.

I have placed the above coins together, in supersession of the usual order followed by previous commentators, as they are practically combined into a single group by the three medals, which introduce such important modifications in the distribution of the entire series.

I propose to confine myself, in the present division of this paper,

<sup>1</sup> See Prinsep, pl. xxviii., fig. 8.  
A. A.—pl. vi., fig. 11.

to a consideration of the limited number of coins under review, which in themselves constitute the strictly initial chapter of the Numismatic history of the Bactrian monarchy.

It will be seen from the various dynastic lists compiled by modern writers, that from the very commencement of the discovery of the coins, which were destined to enlarge the suite of Bactrian rulers from the seven monarchs recorded in ancient story<sup>1</sup> to the fifty kings, princes, or satraps, whose monetary memorials have survived to testify to the past position of the potentates whose names they bear—a difficulty was experienced in the compression, which was the most obvious idea, or the contemporary subdivision, which was the better theory—of so many kings within so confined a period of time;<sup>2</sup> and, as a general rule, when any synchronous classification was attempted, the process was applied not to the leading monarchs of the line, but to their supposedly inferior and less powerful successors, who flourished towards the conclusion of the Bactrian epoch. Singular to say, the new coins now described necessitate a totally opposite course, and demonstrate that three, at least of the earlier potentates, held power contemporaneously; to how many more names on the general list a like law may apply, it would be hazardous at this moment to speculate.

The highly interesting medals, Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, which exact a general reconstruction of the series to which they belong, present little or no difficulty in regard to their relative bearing on each other, or the effect of their combined evidence on synchronous issues, and seem susceptible of but a single classification.

Nos. 3 and 4 can only be looked upon as issues by Agathocles, from two different mints of the kingdom over which he directly ruled, in self-avowed subordination to Diodotus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this number I include Apollodotus, rejecting all belief in any 2nd Eueratides.

<sup>2</sup> M. R. Rochette graphically illustrates his own sense of this difficulty:—*“Aux princes qui semblaient déjà trop nombreux pour l'étroit espace de temps et de lieux dans lequel ils se trouvaient pressés, sont venus se joindre une foule de rois nouveaux, qu'il faut admettre dans ce même espace et qui redoublent notre embarras, en même temps qu'ils augmentent notre intérêt. Par cette apparition inattendue de règnes dont il n'existe d'autres témoignages que ces monuments mêmes, plus d'un système de classification se trouve détruit, plus d'une conjecture, rejetée d'abord, se trouve justifiée; et l'histoire a pris, sur beaucoup de points, une face nouvelle, grâce à ces médailles, seuls débris qui nous restent de la puissance de rois qui étendirent leur domination sur une partie considérable des contrées situées au sud et au nord du Caucase indien et des deux côtés de l'Indus.”* J. de Sav. 1844, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> On its first publication in 1843, M. de Bartholomæi interpreted the coin-

No. 5 similarly typifies an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the same Diodotus by Antimachus Theos, in the government under his own immediate administration.

No. 6 exemplifies the continued retention, by Agathocles, of his local kingship, at a period when Euthydemus had to be recognised in the place of Diodotus.

The ordinary coinage of Diodotus (Nos. 1, 2, &c.,) may be supposed to have constituted the local currency of the Imperial Satrapies over which he personally presided. In the same manner the proper coins of Agathocles and Antimachus may be held to have comprised the common circulating medium of their local governments, while the binominal medals represent the *occasional* or exceptional mintage, struck with the political motive of renewing, at stated times, a confession of allegiance,<sup>1</sup> and, possibly, even designed to form in

combination of the types and legends of coin No. 3, as implying its issue by Agathocles after the decease of Diodotus, in posthumous honour of the latter as the founder of the Bactrian monarchy. This attribution was adopted in its leading features by M. R. Rochette, in his concluding Essay in the *Jour. des Sav.* (1844, p. 117.)

The assignment was, however, contested by Droysen (*Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Hamburg, 1843) who held, as must now be admitted, with better reason—that the relationship between the two monarchs, indicated by the medal, could only be that of contemporaneous subordination on the part of Agathocles. This new theory elicited an elaborate reply from M. de Bartholomæi (*Zeitschrift für Münz*, 1846), which, however clever in argument, failed altogether to show that the change from the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ to that of ΣΥΓΓΗΡ, in connexion with the name of Diodotus, necessitated the inference that he had then ceased to live.

Lassen in reviewing the various possible bearings of this piece in a somewhat involved manner, leaves the real question at issue, nearly as undecided as ever—*inter alia* “he remarks the relation of Agathocles to Diodotus I. is shown in the binominal coin. The title of Deliverer denotes the latter as a liberator of the land from foreign domination, and the absence of the title of king either shews that he no longer reigned, as M. R. Rochette supposes, or more probably, that he was no longer acknowledged as a king by Agathocles, when this coin was struck. The repetition of the Jove type on the reverse proves that Agathocles, if not Diodotus’ ally, was at all events, his contemporary, and that he reigned at the same time with or shortly after him.” After referring to the use of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ as opposed to the ordinary title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. Prof. Lassen proceeds to add, “its meaning could only be this, that Agathocles practically possessed royal power, and used it, but that he acknowledged Diodotus as standing in a higher position, although he (even then) entertained the idea of making himself independent. \* \* \* If this supposition be correct, Agathocles was first Governor of one of the provinces of the Bactrian kingdom, and became independent, while the rule of Diodotus still existed.” *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 1847.

<sup>1</sup> It will be remarked that in each case the subordinate kings make use of

itself a special tribute-money, which, in imitation of the Oriental conception of annual offerings to the Suzerain, often of merely nominal amount, may, in these instances, have been submitted in the form of medals prepared for the purpose.

Having so far determined the purport of the coin combinations from the testimony of their own dies, it becomes needful to examine how far the result accords with extant written history; as might be anticipated from the positive facts so frequently contributed by coined money, these medals, so far from disturbing or negating recorded evidence, elucidate and illustrate it in a most marked manner. As I have before observed, there has been a curious perseverance on the part of most commentators in restricting the number of kings who should compose the initial section of the Bactrian dynasty; indeed in following out such a received idea, attempts have been made to limit and contract the full meaning of the important passage in Polybius (xi. 8, quoted at page 114), wherein Euthydemus excuses himself to Antiochus III.; so that the word *εγγόρους* has been distorted by an early writer from its legitimate translation of "posterous" descendants, into "subolem,"—and as such its application has been narrowed into a presumed reference to Diodotus II., instead of being allowed to carry its full force as implied in the plural form of the word itself and the entire context of the sentence—"the descendants of *those* who had before revolted."

The term descendants, in the ordinary acceptance, undoubtedly presented a difficulty, especially if the persons destroyed by Euthydemus, at so brief an interval after the death of the first Diodotus, had to be understood to be only the *bonâ-fide* descendants from that one individual; but the medals now under review teach us to revert to the true interpretation of the passage, which, by their aid, may be made to throw a new light upon the whole inquiry, and to determine conclusively that the revolt of the Bactrians was not effected by any single potentate, but by a combination of the several Satraps in charge of the various provinces,<sup>1</sup> an

the reverse device of the Suzerain in supersession of the emblems peculiar to their own local coins.

<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to press an unnecessary argument into the service of a theory already sufficiently complete in itself, otherwise it might be suggested that Justin had imperfectly reproduced the sense of Trogus Pompeius, in the following passage, and that "*totius Orientis populi*" was primarily designed to refer to the associates of Diodotus.

xli. 5. Eodem tempore etiam Theodotus, mille urbium Bactrianarum

organization probably headed by Diodotus as Eparch, under the impulse of so much of the Eastern polity as developed the King of Kings of the Biblical record, the Rájádhirája of Indian nations, the adopted ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ of the Parthians,<sup>1</sup> and the Sháhánsháh of the Persians, rather than in obedience to any practice obtaining among the Greeks; such a conclusion would possibly elucidate the otherwise obscure remark of Strabo (xi. i. 1) that "the Greeks, when they got possession of the country, divided it into satrapies."<sup>2</sup> Whether this arrangement resulted from an adaptive policy or not, some such subdivision and distribution would soon have proved necessary, under the peculiar topographical aspect of the country, where access and intercommunication must, at certain seasons, have been greatly restricted, apart from the question of absolute distance.

Under such a system, existing as is proved by the coins, during

præfectus, defecit, regemque se appellari jussit: quod exemplum secuti totius Orientis populi a Macedonibus defecere. 6. Erat eo tempore Arsaces, vir, sicut incertæ originis, ita virtutis expertæ, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The Parthian system was specially one of local kings, under an imperial chief, hence the term ملوك طوايف under which administration, subdivision was carried to such an extent, that, as Tabari tells us, in every city there was a "king" (هر شهري را پادشاه بود). The semitic *Malkin Malká* of the Western coins (Num. Chron. xii., 68), equally with the unique association of "Satrap of Satraps," embodies the same idea. (Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. xi., 118. Sir H. Rawlinson's note on the inscription of Gotargès, at Behistun.)

<sup>2</sup> It is not quite clear to what period Strabo alludes in this sentence. The context would seem to imply a reference to a state of things existing after the Bactrian revolt; but, however, this may be, it will be sufficient for the exemplification of the political organization of these provinces to go back to the subdivision already effected at the death of Alexander the Great, and which was probably extended into far greater detail in the interval between 323 B.C. and 250 B.C. "In Ulterior Bactriana, and the countries of India, the present Governors were allowed to retain their office. The region between the rivers Hydaspes and Indus, Taxiles received. To the colonies settled in India, Python, the son of Agenor, was sent. Of Paropamisada, and the borders of Mount Caucasus, Extarches had the command. The Arachosians and Gedrosians were assigned to Sibyrtius; the Dracæ and Arci to Stasanor. Amyntas was allotted the Bactrians, Seytheus the Sogdians, Nicanor the Parthians, Philippus the Hyrcanians. \* \* \* When this allotment, like a gift from the fates, was made to each, it was to many of them a great occasion for improving their fortunes; for not long after, as if they had divided kingdoms, not governments, among themselves, they became princes instead of prefects, and not only secured great power to themselves, but bequeathed it to their descendants." Justin, xiii., 4. See also Arrian, in Photius, ix., xcii. 2 Curtius, x. Diod. Sic. xviii. Dexippus, in Photius, lxxxii. Orosius, iii.



the rule of Diodotus, and retained as is seen, in one instance at least, under Euthydemus, who, whether from motives of policy or from approval of such a scheme of administration, clearly allowed Agathocles to retain power in subordination to the leadership he himself had achieved. Thus, with kings succeeding kings, each in his own locality, and rendering, in all probability, but irregular fealty to the suzerain for the time being, and in many cases accomplishing complete independence, Euthydemus might reasonably have had to exterminate, not only children and grandchildren in exceptional cases, but successors other than hereditative, readily comprehended in the general term of "descendants" of the various parties to the original defection from the Seleucidan supremacy.

Such, then, being the real state of the monarchical distribution under the early Bactrian Greeks, wherein three out of many potentates are found to have held contemporaneous power, instead of being spread, as was supposed, over a period of time represented by the duration of three average reigns; it is clear that all previous conjectural epochal assignments will have to be abandoned, and a satisfactory classification will have to be undertaken under a greatly modified system. It will naturally be asked, what possible data exist for such a purpose. It cannot be concealed that the new assignment demanded by the synchronous co-existence of many kings, adds materially to the difficulty of attributing to each his own epoch, and more perplexing still, under the geographical aspect, wherein, instead of the one realm of Bactria, many kingdoms have to be appropriated, and kings to be selected out of a little discriminated list, each claiming an appropriate section of country. But, on the other hand, if the mint monograms really represent the names of the cities in which the coins were struck, the grouping of any given series of the leading towns of the divisional monarchs will be checked and corrected by the more limited circle embraced, in a way that the single extensive monarchy of Bactria, including so many provinces, could scarcely have ensured.

The question that has now, therefore, to be decided is, have we good and valid reason to assume that the Bactrian mint-marks do indicate localities.<sup>1</sup> The parallel custom of neighbouring and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Masson, so early as the year 1836 (*J.A.S.B.* v. 545), stated his impression that the monograms on Bactrian Coins, "might be presumed to be monograms of locality," an opinion concurred in by Professor H. H. Wilson, who speaks of these mint-marks as "denoting probably the places where [the pieces] were coined" (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 223). It was reserved, however, for Colonel A. Cunningham, to make the first real effort to analyze and explain the purport


proximately synchronous dynasties would certainly justify such an inference. Certain of the Western mints of Alexander the Great, are admitted to have represented their own names under conventional combinations of letters. The Seleucidan series, though not yet proved in detail, seems to follow a like practice. The conterminous Parthians, though they commence such an elaboration of the art of moneying later in point of time,<sup>1</sup> adopt and continue the usage with uniform regularity, and their contact with the Bactrians is singularly exemplified in the reproduction of the identical symbols of the latter on the Arsacidan currency as the Parthian frontier advanced. The succeeding race of the Sassanians equally mark the city of issue, though no longer in monograms composed of Greek characters, but with very inexpressive brevity, in uncombined initial letters of the name, in the Pehlvi alphabet. The Arabs, who conquered their land, for some time continued to define the mints of their imitative coinage in similar Pehlvi letters, though in a less abbreviated form, until, on the introduction of the Kufic character for mint purposes, the surface of the coin bore record of little beyond the date and place of issue, which latter, to this day, forms so prominent a feature in the extensive circle of Oriental coinages that follow Muhammadan models.

I shall however reserve any more complete examination of the general question for a succeeding number of the Journal, as I find it impossible to illustrate and explain the complicated forms of the mint-monograms without engravings or wood-cuts, which there is, just now, no time to prepare.<sup>2</sup>

of these combinations. The results of his investigations were published in the viii.<sup>th</sup> volume of the Numismatic Chronicle (1843)—under the title of “An Attempt to Explain some of the Monograms found upon the Grecian Coins of Ariana and India.” In this paper, Colonel Cunningham has given a table of no less than sixty different monograms, specifying in a comprehensive form the various kings upon whose coins the several symbols occur, and giving suggestive explanations of the reading and identification of nearly two-thirds of the entire number.



<sup>1</sup> Arsaces iv. Mithridates I.

<sup>2</sup> As this paper may eventually remain incomplete, it may be as well that I should indicate in this place, subject to the test of a more extended comparison, such interpretations of the monograms already quoted as seem reasonably encouraging.

The monogram No. 1 , which occurs on the coins of Diodotus, and subsequently on those of Euthydemus, has been read by Colonel Cunningham as TAYKIANA, which he proposed to amend into TAAIKANA, *Tāikān*, and

I may conclude these observations by intimating to those who would follow up the subject, that as regards the comparative geography of the period, we are fortunate in having lately been furnished with a most exhaustive series of essays on the subject from the pen of M. P. Vivien de Saint Martin,<sup>1</sup> who has further completed his researches, by examining the more exclusively Indian section of the inquiry, the result of which has lately been published<sup>2</sup> under the title of "*Étude sur la géographie et les populations primitives du Nord-ouest de l'Inde, d'après les Hymnes Védiques.*"

further to associate with the *Tapauria* of Polybius (*Taguria*, p. 114, *supra*). I confess to a distrust in any such an elaborate sequence of identifications, and should prefer some more simple lection, such as ΝΙΚΑΙΑ. It may elucidate the ultimate determination of this monogram to refer No. 7*a*, which, when viewed from the right hand side of the coin, is found to present a form absolutely identical with No. 1.

No. 2*a*, , had been originally resolved by Colonel Cunningham into the name of ΜΑΡΤΙΑΝΗ, an attribution which seemed strengthened by the discovery of a variant of the same monogram, having an additional ρ at the top (No. 2 ) , in this case, however, the ρ already existing in the compound became superfluous, a fact which may possibly be explained by supposing that the upper line of the square of the monogram was intended to form a portion of the letter Η, representing the initial letter of Ηόλις.

Of the monograms of Agathocles, No. 6 = ΑΡ., seems to stand for the metropolitan city of the province of Arachosia, which, as in the parallel cases of ΔΡ and ΧΟΡ denoting severally the capitals of Drangia and Chorasmia, referred rather to the name of the kingdom than to the designation of the specific capital.

No. 4 has been supposed to symbolize the name of ΟΦΙΑΝΗ, but the cross line forming a T in the centre of the O, rather damages this assignment.

No. 4 (See Plate ii., coin 2) gives, with singular completeness, the forms of every letter in the word ΔΙΟΔΟΤΗΟΛΙΣ, which may be taken to represent some city temporarily named after Diodotus, in accord with the frequent custom of the times.

The isolated letters ΦΙ on the copper coins may possibly instruct us rightly in the initial rendering of the monogram No. 5, seen on the binominal medal of Euthydemus (Pl. ii., fig 3), which continues its combination into a third character Α, with the optional letters Ο, and Ρ.

The mint marks of Antimachus Theos commence with the new monogram ΑΝ, which may be taken to indicate either a town named after Antiochus, or a more newly designated city called after Antimachus himself. No. 8*a* seems to answer fairly for *Καπραια*, and I should likewise be disposed to concur in Colonel Cunningham's interpretation of No. 27, as *Διορυσόπολις* if it should hereafter stand the trial of association of localities.

<sup>1</sup> *Étude sur la géographie grecque et latine de l'Inde.* Paris, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1859.

## NOTE EXPLANATORY OF THE CONTENTS OF PLATE II.,

VOL. XX., J.R.A.S.

No. 1—Diodotus. Tetradrachma, p. 122.

No. 2—Binominal medal of Diodotus and Agathocles, p. 123.

No. 3—Binominal medal of Euthydemus and Agathocles, p. 124.

No. 4—Antimachus Theos, p. 125.

No. 5—Heliocles. Didrachma. Col. Abbott. Weight, 146·3 grains.

Legends— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obverse—} \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥ.} \\ \text{Reverse—} \text{Māhārajasa Dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa.} \end{array} \right.$

Monogram—No. 22*b*. Prinsep's Essays.

No. 6—Zoilus. Hemidrachma. Col. Abbott.

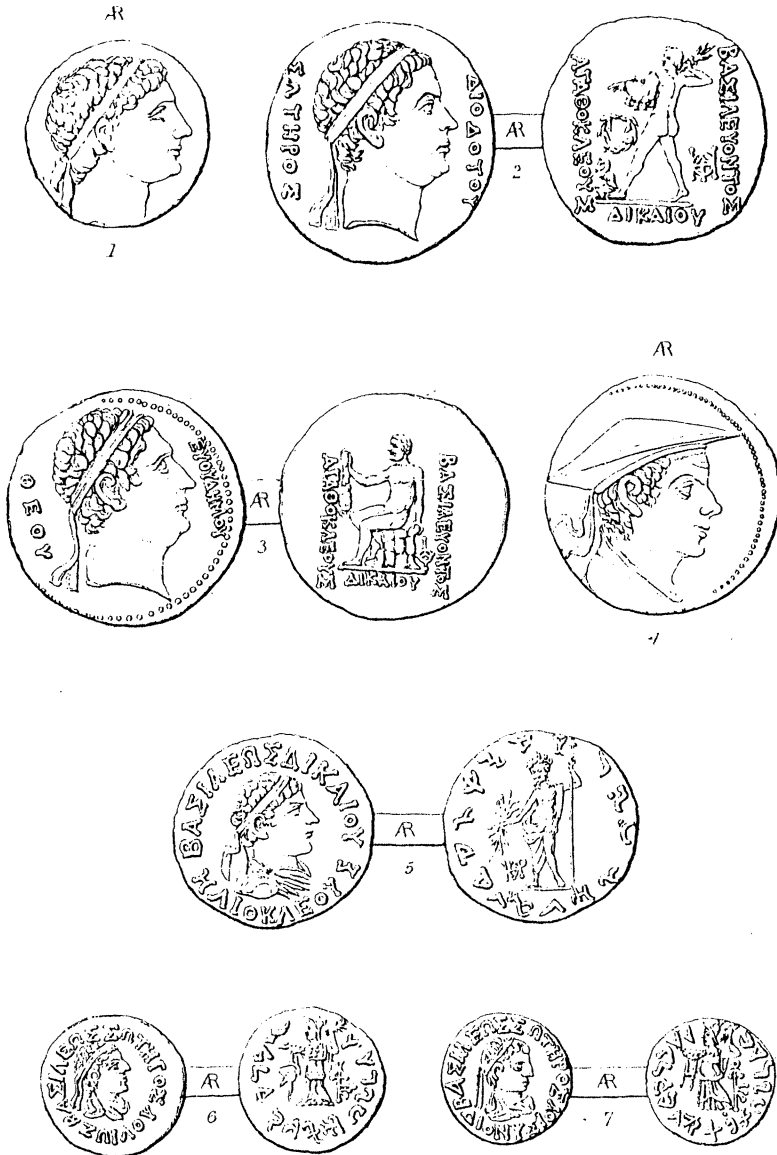
Legends— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obverse—} \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΞΩΙΛΑΟΥ.} \\ \text{Reverse—} \text{Māhārajasa Tradatasa Jhoilasa.} \end{array} \right.$

Monogram—No. 60, Prinsep's Essays.

No. 7—Dionysius. Hemidrachma. Col. Abbott.

Legends— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.} \\ \text{Māhārajasa Tradatasa Diannisiyasa.} \end{array} \right.$

Monogram—No. 60, Prinsep's Essays.



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BACTRIAN COINS.